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Government and Parties in Continental Europe. By A. LAWRENCE LOWELL. Boston and New York, Houghton, Mifflin & Co., 1896.— 2 vols.; viii, 377, viii, 455 pp.

This is a much needed book and a book of much merit. The style in which it is written is lucid and attractive, and the substance does not transcend popular comprehension. It is a book for the general reader rather than for the professional student of the subject it treats. The author has evidently had at his command the best modern literature upon the topics brought together in his volumes; and in most cases he has used it with correct appreciation. In a few instances, however, he has, I think, failed to do so — as, for example, when he interprets Professor Goodnow's work on *Comparative Administrative Law* as an argument for the wholesale substitution of Continental for Anglo-Saxon methods and principles.

For the purposes of criticism the contents of Mr. Lowell's book may be distinguished under four heads: First, a brief history of the establishment of the present governmental systems of France, Italy, Germany, Austria and Switzerland; second, an analysis of the governmental structure in each of these several systems; third, a representation of the manner in which these respective governments are operated; and fourth, an account of the constitution, relations and movements of political parties in these states. The historical sketches are, of course, necessarily brief, and should not be too severely criticised for lack of thoroughness. In one or two cases, however, they are too superficial to escape criticism entirely. For example, in the account of the movements of the seventh decade of the century leading to the establishment, first of the North German Union, and then of the German Empire, no mention whatever is made of the memorial of the Prussian ministry of September 15, 1863, which announced that the Prussian government favored the establishment of a national popular chamber in the Confederate Diet; nor of the proposition made by the Prussian government to the Confederate Diet on April 9, 1866, that a plan for the revision of the existing Articles of Confederation be laid before a national popular convention, elected by universal suffrage for deliberation and ratification; nor of the demand made by the Prussian government, June 15, 1866, upon the governments of Saxony, Hanover and Electoral Hesse, that they should demobilize their armies and assent to the summoning of the national popular convention; nor of the manifesto issued by the Prussian government, June 16, 1866, declaring that the unity of the German nation remained after the dissolution of the Confederation,

and that it was the duty of the governments and of the people to find for that unity a new and vigorous expression. Mr. Lowell thus misses entirely the true spirit of the German revolution of 1866, and falls, consequently, into an excessively particularistic view of the present political system of the German Empire.

The part of the work devoted to the analysis of governmental structure is more satisfactory. In the main it is correct, although it contains many inaccuracies upon minor points. An instance of this kind is to be found on page 297 of the first volume, where the author translates the words of the Prussian constitution, "sonst dauernd verhindert ist, selbst zu regieren," by "insane." Again, in describing the method of amending the Swiss constitution by popular initiative, he says :

The petitioners can either present their amendment in its final shape, ready to be immediately submitted to popular vote, or they can describe it in general terms. In the latter case, the people must be asked whether they approve of the suggestion, and if they vote yes, the amendment must be drawn up by the existing legislature [vol. ii, p. 191].

In reality the constitution provides that when the petitioners demand an amendment expressed in general terms, the legislature may, *if it approves the same, proceed at once to formulate the amendment and submit it for ratification*; but that if the existing legislature does not approve the same, then the question whether the amendment shall be undertaken or not must be submitted to popular vote, and if the majority of those voting on the question approve, then the existing legislature must proceed. Such a lack of exactness may be pardoned, perhaps, in a popular work, but it makes the work rather an unsafe guide for professional students.

In those parts of the treatise devoted to the working of governments and to the constitutions, creeds and movements of parties, the author is at his best. In regard to these matters he has made a very important contribution to the literature of political science, and has placed all students of that science under obligations which no one of them should hesitate to recognize.

Finally, a general criticism to be made upon the book is that it lacks any consistent and scientific nomenclature. To the ordinary reader the indiscriminate use of terms must be exceedingly confusing. The significant titles of political science, namely, sovereignty, state, government, rights and liberty, are each employed in more than one sense, sometimes even in connection with a single topic. A professional political scientist would be able, perhaps, to distinguish

the different meanings by the connections, but the untrained reader will fail to gain all of the profit which he might otherwise win from this, in many respects, excellent treatise.

J. W. BURGESS.

A History of Political Parties in the United States. Vol. I.

By J. P. GORDY, Ph.D., Professor of Pedagogy in Ohio University. Athens, Ohio, 1895. — 512 pp.

In order rightly to consider this book it must be kept in mind that the author, himself a teacher of pedagogy, designs it primarily for teachers who have not had the advantages of higher education and for business men. It is in no sense an original historical investigation into party origins and party organization and development. In this respect the title and the extensive plan of the work create expectations that will not be fulfilled. There is certainly room for a three-volume study of the history of political parties in the United States. Such a work should be definitely devoted to the institutional history of political parties and to the main lines of party action, as well as to the personality and influence of party leaders. It should be based upon extensive historical investigation and well-defined power of political analysis. The author should explore the political history of the various colonies for evidence of party divisions in each. He should investigate the geographical and social distribution of these colonial party divisions with a view to disclosing intercolonial areas or classes with common political sympathies, affording material for fusion into parties on a national scale. This evolution of national parties should be traced through the period of the Revolution and the Confederation. Until this historical foundation is exposed, no well-grounded history of parties in this country can be written. Nor can later party history be rightly presented without more attention to the history of party politics in the various states, to the sectional groupings revealed in congressional votes and presidential elections, and to the formation of the machinery of party action. In brief, a scientific history of political parties must find its basis in demographic facts, and must include a study of the evolution of the organs of party action. The general political history of the nation affects this development of parties, and parties contribute powerfully to the political history of the nation; but it is an error to think that party history and political history are identical.

This is the mistake made by the author of the work before us. The volume is, in fact, a compendium of the political history of the United